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pens rightfully to be there his government will insist upon the security of his life and property. The injury of an American upon the high seas or abroad must once more become the concern of all our people, and be resented by all our people with all their might.

We must accept and vigorously act upon the age old saying: Fast bind, safe find. We now see that no nation can carry the commerce of the world in one hand and an empty blunderbus in the other. That commerce can no more be safeguarded by treaties than can a treasure by a copy of the Eighth Commandment pasted upon the door of the vault which holds it. We now know that no one but the well-intentioned respects treaty or commandment; that the ill-intentioned respects only superior power. We therefore must hold superior power. We must be respected not only because of our intellectual and material usefulness to our neighbor nations but also because of our ability, our readiness, and our determination, everywhere and upon every occasion, to support with force if need be the rights even of the humblest of our people, be those rights assailed by a nation little or big. The aegis of America must protect the American, as did that of Rome, the Roman. Upon no other terms can a nation win either the respect or the trade of the world. We must have both.

GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

MACHINISTS AS PEACEMAKERS

BY ARTHUR E. HOLDER,

Legislative Representative, American Federation of Labor.

This great national question that we are face to face with is one that the laboring men of the United States are meeting calmly, but with supreme confidence. We are neither pacifists nor jingoes, and we don't propose to become hysterical. We are going to do what we can to coöperate with our neighbors, whether they be capitalists or scholars, to mobilize the good-will of all our people, to mobilize our genius, our skill, and every variety of service we may be expected to render. We realize that those who come under the broad class of "labor," will suffer most from the human sacrifice.

Labor, during this trouble, will even stand some imposition. But we will not forget. And we now furnish warning that if any attempt to impose is made, there will be a reaction, and labor will have its say when the balances are cast.

A day or two ago, while in Bridgeport, Connecticut, I was reminded very forcibly of a remarkable expression given by the Prince of Peace wherein He said: "For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" The reason this thought which He so beautifully expressed came to my mind was because I had personally come face to face with petty autocracy, which has been needlessly established in that beautiful city of clever artisans. I could not speak in public as an American citizen to my fellow American citizens without having before me, with his baton unsheathed, one of the police officers of that town. One of my friends who recently returned from Pittsburgh, Youngstown and Cleveland informed me that the same situation existed in those great industrial centers. He said it was a physical impossibility to hold a public meeting before shop gates, and it was becoming more difficult to be able to lease or rent a hall to discuss economic questions of a domestic nature that are absolutely foreign to the trouble across the water. Thus the city fathers of Bridgeport recently enacted an ordinance by which the great first amendment to the American Constitution, guaranteeing free speech, is stricken out and taken from the people without so much as asking "by your leave." Therefore the thought has come to me most forcibly, "For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" and what shall it profit us Americans, as citizens of the highest grade, if we undertake to fight for democracy for the world and then allow petty autocracy to arise in our own land and dictate to us what we shall do and what we shall not do? Labor proposes to resist to the utmost every encroachment on our common rights: we will maintain all the personal, inherent and constitutional rights for which our fathers fought.

Let me refer to what may happen after this world war terminates. It would be a bold man to undertake to make a prophecy, but I have had wide experience in this world. I know something of human character. I have some suggestions to make and no better place can be afforded. First, let me drop this hint as to international coöperation in political matters. I have

traveled in Europe, as a working man. I know the Europeans first-hand and I have found that they have no idea whatsoever of the political organization of the United States. They have no proper understanding of our dual system of state and federal government. When once we inform them how smoothly and how equitably we manage our local and national affairs, it would not be a difficult matter to explain to the German, the Austrian, the Hungarian, the Frenchman, the Belgian and the Briton that they can have a United States of Europe if they want it, and it will work just as smoothly there, with all of their nationalism, as it has worked here in this great melting pot. Here with men of all races, all creeds, and many handicaps which tend to hold men back, we have blended into a common whole and built up this great, grand republic. Let us tell our European neighbors how we do things, and when once they know, they will learn the true meaning of those inspiring words "democracy" and "efficiency."

I have some information to convey to you with which you are, perhaps, not familiar. During the Sixty-fourth Congress, some exceptionally revolutionary industrial legislation was enacted. You have been busy people. You have been unable to pay strict attention to Congressional details. You have had to make a living and follow your daily pursuits, and the public press—who own and manipulate news service—has apparently made up its mind to a conspiracy of silence on real information. It has not informed Americans as to what was incorporated in the Army Appropriation Law of the last Congress. It contains a confiscatory clause investing the President of the United States with authority to take, for federal use, any factory that may be needed for national use. The man or men who own it, if they dare to place any obstacles in the way, are subject to exceptional penalties! In the Naval Law of the last session, a commandeering clause was included, authorizing the President to take possession of any private plant that may be needed to build naval vessels or merchant ships. In that act the penal clauses are not as severe, but the power is there. The National Defense Act contains the nitrate section, No. 79. I hope you will all examine that particular piece of legislation and read carefully the most far-reaching industrial legislation ever enacted by Anglo-Saxons, either in the United States or the United Kingdom. There was much debate in the United States Senate

about it because one southern gentleman feared—"it was a step toward socialism." And oh, how scared he was of that awful word; he didn't want the United States government to enter private business, and manufacture fertilizers for the agriculturist! No, indeed! He was perfectly willing that the proposed plants should manufacture nitrates for munitions, but he didn't want to interfere with private fertilizers' rights! Nevertheless, the bill passed over his protest.

When committee and individual amendments were being considered a senator from the far west succeeded without debate, in getting four simple words inserted in that act. They give the power to the United States government in nitrate plants to manufacture fertilizers for agricultural use, nitrates for munitions, "*and other useful products.*" You see the significance of that? Why, we can now, as a people, compete with private monopolies. We can make shoes, manufacture furniture, steel rails, locomotives or refine crude oil products. We can do anything now that Uncle Sam wants with full legislative authority. No senator objected to those four powerful, all-embracing words, and they are law.

The possibilities contained in the nitrate section will help us to solve some of our economic difficulties after the world war is over. It is really a fundamental, bed-rock proposition that will enable us to start a real coöperative industrial democracy which Mr. Lippmann has so eloquently portrayed.¹

I want to tell you what labor suggested to the House of Representatives as a means of raising added revenue instead of issuing bonds. We recommended that the postal savings bank system should be extended for readier deposit by the people of the United States of immense sums of money. We want to mobilize those great financial resources that are in the pockets of millions of our people who have never dared to be bondholders but who would never hesitate at all to go to Uncle Sam's own depository in the post office and bank their savings. We asked that the limitation of deposits to a thousand dollars should be withdrawn and that people could freely deposit all they possess. We asked that the rate of interest should be increased from two per cent to three per cent on the grounds that, if we have to have bondholders to carry this debt either for this generation or for some future generation,

¹ See page 8.

then all the people should be given an opportunity to coöperate and be the bondholders. We asked that the income tax should be substantially increased and graduated. We asked that the inheritance tax should be materially increased, and that these two latter resources should be made to bear the largest proportion of the financial needs of the government. We also proposed what probably some people will feel pleased to know. We proposed that Congress should levy a tax on land values, not only as a war emergency measure, but also for a permanent means of raising public revenue for all time.

I am a working man, a machinist. I must apologize for the lack of forethought and foresight of my trade. We are the ones who are really responsible for this war—our trade, the machinists—throughout the world. If we had been blessed with foresight, if we had possessed sufficient intelligence to have seen what was coming, if we had coöperated and united our forces with those of our fellow machinists in Germany, Great Britain, Italy, France and Russia, we could have said to kaisers, emperors, kings, princes and potentates, "If you want to fight, you make your own weapons; we machinists will not do it."

If I live, I am going to devote the balance of my life to seeing that, when this awful struggle is over and the butchery is ended, there will be a delegation of trade unionists representing the machinists of the United States, who will visit their fellow machinists in the several European countries and say to them,

Let us unite in behalf of peace and brotherhood. In the skill of our hands lies the destiny of the world. We can control it for peace and happiness, or for death and destruction. Let us put an end to machine butchery. Let us refuse to make weapons of war. We can if we will and for humanity's sake we will be, we must be, the great peacemakers in the future, so that the world shall never again be torn apart in the awful way that it has been during the three years, 1914 to 1917.